

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 AMMAN 02453 01 OF 02 141346Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----101473 141348Z /41

O 141112Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5428

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 2453

NODIS

E.O.11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PGOV, JO, US, XF
SUBJECT: LETTER FOR PRESIDENT CARTER FROM KING HUSSEIN

REF: AMMAN 2278

SUMMARY: COURT CHIEF SHARAF PRESENTED ME MARCH 14
WITH A LETTER FROM KING HUSSEIN TO PRESIDENT CARTER,
TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS: LETTER FORESHADOWED BY
REFTEL. LETTER IN TONE IS MODERATE AND CLEARLY IS
AN ATTEMPT TO URGE THE U.S. TO DO ALL POSSIBLE TO
CONTINUE PEACE PROCESS. LETTER DISTINGUISHES
BETWEEN AIMS FOR NEGOTIATION AND PRECONDITIONS FOR
JORDAN JOINING. IT RE-EMPHASIZES THE CENTRAL
THEME OF 242--TERRITORY FOR PEACE. KING MAKES
CLEAR THAT HE IS SEEKING A REASONABLE ASSURANCE
REGARDING THE FUTURE, NOT IRON-CLAD PRECOMMITMENTS.
HE ALSO POINTS UP DANGERS OF FAILURE, NOTING THAT
ARAB WORLD IS LIKELY TO BECOME MORE RADICAL AND THAT
JORDAN WOULD NEED HELP TO SURVIVE SUCH A SITUATION.
KING ENDS WITH A PLEA FOR U.S. TO PLAY AN ACTIVE
ROLE AS A PARTNER IN MUCH THE SAME WAY THAT PRESIDENT
SADAT IS REPORTED TO HAVE URGED THE PRESIDENT.
END SUMMARY.

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SECRET

PAGE 02 AMMAN 02453 01 OF 02 141346Z

2. BEGIN TEXT:
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,
I AM WRITING TO YOU AT THIS TIME BECAUSE I AM AWARE
OF THE MAJOR EFFORT YOU ARE UNDERTAKING TO HELP ACHIEVE A
BREAKTHROUGH IN THE PEACE EFFORTS CONCERNING THE MIDDLE EAST.
WITH MY PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT I APPRECIATE THE COURAGE AND
VISION WHICH YOU ARE EXEMPLIFYING IN YOUR HANDLING OF THE

PEACE MAKING PROCESS. YOU HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT AND DETERMINED SINCE YOUR ASSUMPTION OF YOUR GREAT OFFICE AND YOUR LAUNCHING OF YOUR EFFORT. AS WE ARE REACHING A CRUCIAL LANDMARK IN OUR COOPERATIVE EFFORT I FELT THE NEED TO DESCRIBE BRIEFLY HOW WE IN JORDAN VIEW THE SITUATION AND THE DIRECTION OF THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE INTEREST OF CLARIFYING OUR POSITION AND ASSIST YOU IN EVALUATING THE OVERALL SITUATION.

AS YOU KNOW, MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE REMAINED ATTACHED TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 SINCE ITS ADOPTION IN NOVEMBER 1967. WE COOPERATED WITH THE VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES AND EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN OUTSIDE AND INSIDE THE UNITED NATIONS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL AND REASONABLE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. WE ADVOCATED A REALISTIC POLICY AND INSISTED ON A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT AT TIMES WHEN SUCH ADVOCACY WAS NEARLY UNTHINKABLE IN OUR REGION. MY GOVERNMENT COOPERATED CLOSELY AND POSITIVELY WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, UNDER SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIONS, IN THE SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT THROUGHOUT THE LEAST ELEVEN YEARS. OUR COMMON UNDERSTANDING, ENDORSED BY NEAR CONSENSUS IN THE WORLD, WAS THAT A JUST POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT CONSISTS IN A BALANCE OF PARALLEL COMMITMENTS TO WITHDRAWAL AND PEACE. AT A TIME WHEN A LARGE SECTOR OF ARAB OPINION REMAINED SKEPICAL ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND ABOUT ISRAELI INTENTIONS, WE DECLARED READINESS TO CONCLUDE A PERMANENT PEACE WHICH WOULD GUARANTEE MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND SECURE
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PAGE 03 AMMAN 02453 01 OF 02 141346Z

BORDERS IN EXCHANGE FOR A JUST SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AND WITHDRAWAL TO THE LINES OF 1967.

WE HAVE MAINTAINED THIS POLICY, DEFENDED AND ADVOCATED IT STRONGLY IN THE ARAB WORLD, AND WE REMAIN ATTACHED TO IT.

PRESIDENT SADAT'S BOLD AND UNPRECEDENTED INITIATIVE HAS HELPED CRYSTALLIZE IN THE WORLD THE MODERATE ARAB POSITION SOME OF US HAVE BEEN ADVANCING. PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PROCEDURAL BARRIERS TO THE PEACE PROCESS WERE ELIMINATED AND ALL PARTIES ARE NOW FACING DIRECTLY THE SUBSTANCE OF A POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT. THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS NO JUSTIFICATIONS ANYMORE FOR EVADING A CLEAR ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IT SEEKS A LASTING AND GUARANTEED PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS OR TERRITORIAL AGGRANDIZEMENT AT THEIR EXPENSE. NOR CAN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT CONTINUE TO CONTEND THAT IT IS NOT REQUIRED TO REVEAL ITS POSITION IN ADVANCE OF NEGOTIATION; THERE IS A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS.

IT IS WITH THESE FACTS IN MIND THAT WE, IN JORDAN, HAVE TAKEN OUR PRESENT STAND WHICH WE REGARD AS BOTH REALISTIC AND JUSTIFIED. I HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED ON RECENT OCCASIONS THAT

FOR THE PRESENT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS TO PROGRESS AND EXPAND
THERE MUST BE SOME CONCRETE INDICATION SHOWN BY ISRAEL THAT
THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD ULTIMATELY RESULT IN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL
AND A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION BASED ON
THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. TO ASK FOR AN ASSURANCE
REGARDING SUCH AN ULTIMATE RESULT IS NOT TO IMPOSE PRIOR
CONDITIONS. IT IS SIMPLY TO ASK THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE
WITHIN A FRAMEWORK OF RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES AND GOALS. TO
EXPECT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE PROCESS IS
LIKE EXPECTING THE ESTABLISHING OF PEACE ITSELF AS A RESULT OF
THE PROCESS. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE AS A RESULT OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS IS A NATURAL AND RECOGNIZED GOAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS
AND NOT A PRIOR CONDITION. SO IS THE EXPECTATION THAT AS A
NATURAL OUTCOME THE MILITARY OCCUPATION WOULD BE TERMINATED
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SECRET

PAGE 04 AMMAN 02453 01 OF 02 141346Z

AND THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE NOW UNDER OCCUPATION ASSURED.
THE CONCRETE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD CENTRE ON WAYS OF ACHIEVING
SUCH GOALS AND GUARANTEEING THE PEACE AND NOT ON DEBATING
THE GOALS THEMSELVES. AT LEAST WE IN THE REGION HAVE REACHED
A STAGE WHERE A CREDIBLE PEACE PROCESS HAS COME TO MEAN THAT.

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PAGE 01 AMMAN 02453 02 OF 02 141344Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5429

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 AMMAN 2453

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YOU, SIR, WOULD AGREE, I AM SURE, THAT ANY DIFFERENT UNDER-
STANDING OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT ATTRACT, REASSURE
OR ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF ANY PARTICIPANT IN THE PRESENT CONFLICT
WITH ISRAEL AND IN THE HOPES OF PEACE. WE IN JORDAN HAVE
STRIVEN LONG AND HARD AND HAVE SACRIFICED ENOUGH TO BE JUSTIFIED

IN OUR REQUEST FOR SOME REASONABLE ASSURANCE REGARDING THE FUTURE, PARTICULARLY AS JORDAN IS CALLED UPON TO ABSORB THE LARGEST SHARE OF THE HUMAN, PSYCHOLOGICAL, EMOTIONAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AND OF THE STRESSES OF THE PROCESS ITSELF.

MAY I, MR. PRESIDENT, ADD ANOTHER POINT IN THIS CONTEXT. I HAVE TOLD SOME OF YOUR REPRESENTATIVES RECENTLY THAT IT IS NOT ONLY IN THE INTEREST OF JORDAN BUT ALSO IN THE INTEREST OF OUR COMMON GOAL OF MODERATION AND POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE AREA THAT JORDAN SHOULD MOVE CAREFULLY AND WISELY. THERE ARE MANY SIGNS THAT THE ISRAELI LEADERSHIP WILL NOT SHOW THE NECESSARY HISTORIC VISION TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO PRESIDENT SADAT'S INITIATIVE. IF THIS SITUATION CONTINUES AND THE INITIATIVE COLLAPSES IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, THEN THE ARAB WORLD IS LIKELY TO SWITCH TOWARDS AN EXTREME RADICALISM. IT WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF ALL WHO WANT TO ARREST SUCH A NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENT THAT JORDAN SHOULD BE STRONG AND CREDIBLE ENOUGH TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE AREA AND HELP IN PUTTING THE ARAB WORLD AGAIN ON A POSITIVE COURSE.

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PAGE 02 AMMAN 02453 02 OF 02 141344Z

MR. PRESIDENT,

ALLOW ME ONCE MORE THOUGHT ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH IS OF DEEP MUTUAL CONCERN. LIKE MANY MODERATE AND SINCERE FRIENDS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE AREA, I BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION AND CRUCIAL MOMENT REQUIRE DECISIVE AND BOLD ACTION ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES. FOR THE PEACE PROCESS TO PROGRESS AND SUCCEED, THE UNITED STATES IS NEEDED TO MOVE FROM THE ROLE OF MIDDLE MAN TO THE ROLE OF PARTNER AND ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE FUTURE OF OUR AREA. I UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE THE BOLD INITIATIVES YOU HAVE TAKEN AND THE DEEP COMMITMENT YOU HAVE BROUGHT TO THE EFFORTS FOR PEACE. BUT THE STAKES ARE SO HIGH AND THE INTERESTS SO VITAL THAT THE UNITED STATES NEEDS TO ACT DECISIVELY TO BREAK THE STALEMATE AND MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE ROAD TO PEACE IS ONE AND IRREVERSIBLE. THE ARAB PEOPLE, THE ISRAELI PEOPLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AT LARGE NEED SUCH A ROLE BY THE UNITED STATES. MANY VITAL INTERESTS AND PRECIOUS VALUES ARE INVOLVED.

I HOPE YOU WILL EXCUSE THE LENGTH OF MY LETTER. I HAVE FELT THAT MY PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND RESPECT FOR YOUR DREAMS AND CONVICTIONS JUSTIFY SUCH PRESUMPTION ON YOUR TIME.

WITH MY BEST PERSONAL REGARDS AND WARM ADMIRATION.
HUSSEIN I
END TEXT

3. ORIGINAL BEING FORWARDED BY POUCH TO EXECUTIVE
SECRETARIAT. SHARAF HAS TOLD US THAT JORDAN DOES
NOT INTEND TO PUBLISH THE TEXT BUT MAY IN ONE OR TWO
DAYS PROVIDE PRESS WITH INDICATION THAT KING HAS
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SECRET

PAGE 03 AMMAN 02453 02 OF 02 141344Z

BEEN IN PERSONAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE PRESIDENT
BY LETTER ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.
PICKERING

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PEACE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978AMMAN02453
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P850101-1524, N780003-0441
Format: TEL
From: AMMAN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780373/aaaacjxm.tel
Line Count: 238
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 72fdf5c7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 78 AMMAN 2278
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3347171
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LETTER FOR PRESIDENT CARTER FROM KING HUSSEIN
TAGS: PGOV, PPDC, JO, US, XF, (HUSAYN), (CARTER, JIMMY)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/72fdf5c7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014